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THE REACTIONARY NATURE OF MA YIN-
CH'U'S THEORY ON POPULATION

-COMMUNIST CHINA-

By Ma Ch'un

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THE REACTIONARY NATURE OF MA YIN-
CH'U'S THEORY ON POPULATION

[The following is a complete translation of an article written by Ma Ch'un appearing in Pei-ching Ta-hsueh Hsueh-pao (Peking University Journal) Peiping, No 5, December 1959, pages 1-9, quarterly Jen-wen K'o-hsueh (Humanities).]

In a class society all ideas and theories concerning the population problem, like other social sciences, have a clear-cut class character and serve a particular class. Controversies over the population problem have never been purely academic ones; they are reflections of the class struggle in the domain of political thought. Engels hit the nail on the head when he said that the Malthusian theory of population is "an open declaration of war by the bourgeois class on the proletariat."¹

Similarly, in our modern period, the bourgeois have used the population problem time and again as a weapon to oppose the revolutionary enterprise of the proletariat. Even after the liberation, the bourgeois rightists have continued to use the population problem to further their reactionary political intrigues.

For the past few decades, Ma Yin-ch'u's population theory has been directed against the revolutionary enterprise of the proletariat both before and after the liberation. Today it stands in direct opposition to socialist revolution and socialist construction. It is, therefore, necessary for us to expose the reactionary nature of his population theory.

¹Complete Works of Marx and Engels, p. 572.

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All controversies over the population problem, whether in China or abroad, have always been focused on the question of the origin of poverty which is a question of great political significance.

Malthus separated the population problem under the capitalist system from that of the socialist system. He studied the population problem in the abstract and outside of the historical context. From this starting point, he tried to prove that poverty in the capitalist society is not created by capitalist private ownership but is the result of the functioning of a permanent natural law which he called the "absolute population surplus." In this way, he achieved his objective of defending the capitalist system and opposing the socialist revolutionary movement.

Malthus said: "The principal and common cause of poverty is seldom attributed to the form of government or to the unequal distribution of property. This important truth is discovered through the law of population."² Malthus attacked socialism on the basis of the "law of population" he created. He said that the socialist system, "under the best conditions, would be completely destroyed by a simple principle of population in less than thirty years, not to speak of a few millenia."¹

Twenty or thirty years ago, Ma Yin-ch'u had already accepted the Maltusian population theory. He became a disciple of Malthus in China and propagated Malthus' reactionary population theory.

In an article entitled "Criticizing Those Who Talk About Socialism Today," written as early as 1922, Ma Yin-ch'u said: "The difficult living conditions of the Chinese workers are due to the large population which reduces the distribution."²

²Malthus Population Theory, translated by Kuo Ta-li, World Book Shop, 1933 edition, p 47.

¹Malthus: Population Theory, Commercial Press, 1959, p 62.

²Ma Yin-ch'u's Lecture Series, Series I, Commercial Press, 1925, p 161.

In another article in the same year, he said: "The poor conditions of the workers in our country are due to population increase."³

In his book, Introduction to Economics, Ma Yin-ch'u made a even clearer exposition of the Malthusian viewpoints. He said: "In short, the inability of food increase to catch up with population increase is an unavoidable law of nature in this world. This will result in a struggle for food and clothing and in difficult living conditions. In extreme cases, wars, famines, malnutrition, over-work and epidemics are unavoidable."⁴ Is this not a Chinese edition of Malthus' Population Theory?

Why is the food increase not equal to population increase? Ma Yin-ch'u, like Malthus, considers the "law of diminishing returns" to be the basic law of agriculture. As there is a limit to the increase of land productivity, the increase in the means of livelihood must fall behind population increase.

Ma Yin-ch'u said: "As the cost in agriculture increases to a certain point, the returns will gradually diminish. The law of diminishing returns is the basic principle. Thus, there is no difference between high production and low production in agriculture. For whether the production is high or low, it is governed by the law of diminishing returns."⁵

In another place, he said: "If the amount of labor applied to a field is increased by one hundred thousand times, the output would not increase by much."⁶ This is one side of the question.

³Ibid, p 299.

⁴Ma Yin-ch'u, Introduction to Economics, Commercial Press, 1943, p 118.

⁵, 7 Ma Yⁿ-ch'u Lecture Series, Series 4, Commercial Press, 1928, pp 145, 233.

⁶Ma Yin-ch'u's Lecture Series, Series 3, Commerical Press, 1926, p 167.

On the other hand, Ma Yin-ch'u considered the population increase in China to be too rapid. He said: "The reproductive power of the Chinese population is astonishing." Like Malthus, he believed that population increases in geometric progression.

In another article entitled "The Mathematics for Estimating Population" written as early as 1920, Ma Yin-ch'u pointed out that since population increases in geometric progression it should be estimated according to geometric progression. He said: "Population increase is like compound interest in arithmetic. In compound interest, interest produces interest. Population increase is like that. It is not proper to estimate it according to arithmetical progression."⁸

From the conclusion that China has a large population and limited food supply, Ma Yin-ch'u proceeded to expound Malthus' reactionary views on the control of population. He said: "If we do not adopt moral precautions, we shall have such positive checks as abortion, infanticide and the abandoning of babies. We shall suffer from hunger, war and pestilence. Excess of population will thus be reduced. War, famine and the abandoning of babies are widespread in our society. They all exercise a positive check on the population."⁹

He also said: "As population increases, outward expansion becomes necessary. As expansion takes place everywhere, conflicts arise and wars become inevitable."¹

Moreover, Ma Yin-ch'u used this Malthusian viewpoint to defend publicly the imperialist aggression of the Japanese. He said in 1935: "As Japan's population increased rapidly, her existing territory becomes insufficient to support the population; hence the tendency for her to expand. Japan is thus not only China's enemy. She will become the enemy of the world. In her country,

⁸Hsin Ch'ing-nien (New Youth), 1920, V 7, No 4.

⁹Ma Yin-ch'u, China's Economic Reform, Commercial Press, 1935, p 98.

¹ Ibid, pp 647-648.

she can only expand her industry but not her agriculture. She must, therefore, look for raw materials and foodstuffs abroad." ²

Ma Yin-ch'u's population theory is not an isolated one. It has always been closely related to his reactionary political views. During our first great revolutionary period around 1925, Ma Yin-ch'u spoke in various places expounding his views on harmony between labor and capital, supporting cooperation between the peasants and the landlords and opposing class struggle.

He said: "China has no capital. Since capital is inadequate, there is naturally the desire to increase it. Why? It is because labor and capital are complementary and not opposed to each other. So I say, "Labor is sacred; capital is also sacred." ³

Attacking Marxism, he said: "It insists on dividing the rich from the poor, thus causing conflict between the two. I do not know what their intention is!" ⁴

He even said: "The labor-capital problem came into being entirely because of the class concept and class dictatorship. Class distinction appeared as an idea first before it became a fact." He also said: "The class concept did not arise from the relation between the employer and the employed but from differences in objective and interest." ⁵

Ma Yin-ch'u tried to promote not only cooperation between labor and capital but also harmony between the peasants and the landlords.

He said: "Look at the various hsiang militia. The rich give their money and the poor their strength to

²Collection of Ma Yin-ch'u's Economic Essays, The Authors' Bookstore, 1947, p 1.

³Ma Yin-ch'u's Lecture Series, Series 1, Commercial Press, 1925, p 152.

⁴Ibid, p 227.

⁵Ma Yin-ch'u's Lecture Series, Series 4, Commercial Press, 1928, p 41

support them. There is friendship between the rich and the poor. Why must we use socialism to alienate them? ⁶

He even went so far as to say: "There is a warm feeling between the peasants and the landlords." ⁷

Before the liberation, Ma Yin-ch'u attacked the Marxist theory time and again and expounded his absurd theory that Marxism was not suitable for China. To oppose Marxism on this score was the usual trick of the bourgeois class. Ma Yin-ch'u did not act differently. He said: "Communism is not suitable for China because China has no capitalists. Communism opposes capitalism. Since there are no capitalists in China, the question of communism does not arise." ⁸

He also said: "Marxism cannot even be carried out in the United States, not to speak of China. The Chinese people are not yet rich. Capital is not yet concentrated. The productive capacity has not yet been developed. The workers have yet to be trained for organized work. Labor and capital have yet to form two classes. None of these six conditions has been realized. It goes without saying that it is unsuitable for China and cannot be carried out." ⁹

During the period of the democratic revolution, especially during our second revolution---the period of the land revolution---Ma Yin-ch'u attacked the Communist Party's revolutionary line in the rural areas.

He said: "Landlords are not the great menace of the Chinese farmers. For the Chinese landlords are not as harsh as the European landlords. At times, they aid the tenants in various ways. Flood, drought, locusts and civil war are the principal menaces. If the civil war can be stopped and afforestation and river conservancy projects carried out, the poverty of the farmers can be remedied." ¹⁰

⁶Ma Yin-ch'u's Lecture Series, Series 1, Commercial Press, 1925, p 161.

⁷Ibid, Series 4, 1928, p. 146.

⁸Ibid, p. 166

⁹Ibid, Series 4, 1928, p. 138.

¹⁰Ibid, p. 145.

In 1935, Ma Yin-ch'u attacked the Communist land policy point by point in a special chapter in his book, China's Economic Reform. In his book, he praised the "enthusiasm for public welfare and desire to perform good deeds and render aid" on the part of the landlord and gentry class.

He said: "If we eliminate them all, we shall be destroying the valuable as well as the valueless without discrimination. Moreover, the rural areas will lose their important personages. It is, therefore, a big mistake to eliminate the gentry class."

Ma Yin-ch'u also attacked the Party's class analysis of the rural areas. He said: "This kind of analysis is based on class differentiation. Actually it is no more than the classification within the same class."¹

He said: "Although the equal distribution of land is not without its logic, it is difficult to carry out. This is especially true when we consider the complexity of the present society as compared with the ancient and medieval times. Rather than bringing about confusion, it is better to adopt a policy which is suitable to the conditions of the country. The policy should be to increase the productivity of the peasants through the use of scientific methods."²

Ma Yin-ch'u used his population theory as the main support for his reactionary theories and political views. He considered over-population as the origin of China's poverty and backwardness and used this theory to support the old governing system, to oppose the revolution and the class struggle, to promote cooperation between labor and capital and between the peasants and the landlord class, to discredit the Party's land policy and to attack Marxism and the Chinese Marxists. He also proposed certain "reform" measures in opposition to the general line of our Party's democratic revolution.

From the above, we can see that Ma Yin-ch'u's population theory is the Chinese version of the Malthusian theory. Before the liberation, his theory was directed against the democratic revolution.

¹Ma Yin-ch'u, China's Economic Reform, Commercial Press, 1935, pp. 616, 618.

²Ma Yin-ch'u's Lecture Series, Series 4, Commercial Press, 1928, p 195.

(2)

Ma Yin-ch'u's population theory was, of course, unable to impede the victorious advance of the Chinese people under the Communist Party and to prevent them from winning the glorious victory of the democratic revolution. The facts were very clear. Ma Yin-ch'u should have learned his lesson and criticize his mistaken theories of the past.

In his article entitled "On the Democratic Dictatorship of the People," Comrade Mao Tse-tung said in 1949: "Among those who hankered after other things, some have collapsed, some have wakened up and some are changing their minds. Things have developed so fast that many people are struck by the suddenness of the change and feel the need for learning anew. Such feelings among the people are understandable. We welcome this admirable attitude of wanting to learn anew."

After the liberation, however, Ma Yin-ch'u ignored the basic change in our national and social system. He not only did not abandon his reactionary population theory, but continued to propagate his theory more intensively and stood in direct opposition to socialism.

Facts are so unmerciful. In 1955 when the socialist revolution in the economic field was reaching a high tide, Ma Yin-ch'u proposed his population theory.³

In 1957 when the bourgeois class began its mad attack on socialism, Ma Yin-ch'u formulated hurriedly his "new population theory." It constituted a part of the whole reactionary bourgeois intellectual attack on socialism.

Following the great leap forward in 1958, our socialist construction enterprise made rapid progress while capitalism was nearing its end. Under the circumstances, Ma Yin-ch'u enunciated for the third time his population theory in opposition to the Party's general line of socialist construction. All these were not accidental, but natural results of maintenance of his reactionary bourgeois standpoint.

³At the meeting of the Chekiang section of the National Congress in 1955, the paper was read and criticized. For that reason, it was not published.

In the "new population theory" he formulated in 1957, Ma Yin-ch'u tried to prove that owing to China's large population, it was not possible to build socialism in our country. He said: "We do not want loans from the United States. We cannot use the imperialist method of colonial exploitation to obtain funds.

Nor can we follow the Japanese example of using the indemnity of the Sino-Japanese War of 1894-1895 as the capital for industrialization. We can only depend upon our own efforts and accumulate our own capital."¹

As to depending upon our own accumulations, he said: "Owing to the size of the population, the consumption is large and accumulation small." He said: "Since capital accumulation is so slow and population increase so rapid, the dilemma between small capital and large population is difficult to solve." According to his view, it is not only impossible to depend upon our own accumulation, it may even be dangerous.

Ma Yin-ch'u said: "Over-population is fatal to us."² He said that the six hundred million population is "great pressure" on China and a "great burden," and that "the population is a drag on industrialization." Since this is the case, it is already difficult to maintain the status quo. How can we talk about social revolution and socialist construction?

Ma Yin-ch'u said: "The remedy lies in technological and cultural revolution." However, he added instantly: "I am afraid that with a large population we cannot mechanize and automatize rapidly. A large population is a drag on technological advance and scientific progress." His proposal of "technological and cultural revolution" is not serious. It cannot be realized. According to him, China must first solve the population problem.

¹Where the sources of quotations are not given, they are to be found in Ma Yin-ch'u's New Population Theory and his My Philosophical Ideas and Economic Theory.

²"Ma Yin-ch'u Discusses the Population Problem," Wen-hui Pao, 27 April, 1957.

However, with such a large population, this problem cannot be solved. Thus we can only go back to capitalism. This is the natural conclusion of Ma Yin-ch'u's theory. As a matter of fact, he has already proposed that we look to Britain and follow the road of British capitalism. For even if communism is achieved, the most we can accomplish is to "raise the standard of living to Britain's level."

This is how Ma Yin-ch'u uses the population theory to discredit our socialist construction, spread the feelings of pessimism and disappointment and advocate the road to capitalism!

The rapid development of socialist enterprises in our country in the past few years has thoroughly shattered Ma Yin-ch'u's reactionary theory. However, the experience of history tells us that reactionary ideas do not vanish by themselves. With the intensification of the socialist revolution, proponents of these ideas will deliver their final counter blow. This is precisely what Ma Yin-ch'u is doing.

In his recent article (Hsin Chien-she, 1959, No 11), he went a step further to develop the reactionary Malthusian views he has been holding for several decades in order to deny the superiority of the socialist system and oppose the socialist revolution.

Ma Yin-ch'u said: "Our deficiency does not lie in production relations. It lies in low labor productivity. The remedy is to be found in technological and cultural revolution and not in political revolution. It is, therefore, necessary for us to create a new theory to oppose Malthus.

The object of this theory is to raise gradually the labor productivity of the workers and to raise the level and expand our scientific achievements until we are able to manufacture artificial foodstuffs to take the place of the food that Malthus found insufficient. This theory is different from the old theory.

The old theory that "the production relations do not suit the expansion of productive capacity" is applicable only for a time. Once the production relations have been

adjusted (for instance, the establishment of the people's communes in China and the unification of the government and the commune), this old theory will no longer be applicable."

Continuing, he said: "Since you consider the people's commune to be a good institution, you cannot say that production relations still require further adjustment and that they are still an obstacle to the development of productivity." (Note: The Marxist theory that "production relations must suit the nature of productive capacity" has been changed by Ma Yin-ch'u to the theory that "production relations do not suit the expansion of productive capacity.")

Marxism has never considered production relations to be unchangeable. It was Ma Yin-ch'u who "created" such ideas as "adjusting well the production relations" and the idea that "the expansion of productive capacity does not catch up with production relations." This shows how ignorant he is.)

What Ma Yin-ch'u said in these passages had its implications. But as the proverb says: "A fox cannot hide its tail," his reactionary nature is very obvious. To put his ideas more clearly, his words amounted to this: the socialist revolution cannot solve the population problem and the socialist system cannot eliminate poverty.

The question he raised was: production relations have been adjusted but that did not correct our conditions of poverty. Ma Yin-ch'u never thinks that the origin of poverty lies in the social system.

In 1957 he said: "over-population is the origin of our poverty. It is a fatal wound." Ma Yin-ch'u has always believed that our low labor productivity is due to over-population which impedes scientific and technological development. In short, from his point of view, the cause of China's poverty and backwardness is not the long period of feudal exploitation and the imperialist aggression of the past hundred years, but over-population, and the way to overcome this difficulty is not socialist revolution but his "population control." The "new" theory that he advocates is "population control" or "birth control."

However, we already have a population of over six hundred million and according to his view, such a population is already a drag. How can further discussion of "population control" solve the problem! He was merely trying to cover up the basic nature of his opposition to socialism.

Ma Yin-ch'u said that Marx's view that "production relations do not suit the expansion of productive capacity" was already out of date and that his new theory was always applicable and that it was applicable in capitalist countries. How absurd!

In saying that Marxism was "out of date," he was openly opposing Marxism and denying the function of revolutions. For, from his point of view, we have not licked the problem of poverty even though the production relations have been adjusted. To him, this shows that the basic problem cannot be solved by a revolution or a change in production relations. The method that he prescribed to solve the basic problem is his "new" theory of "population control."

In short, Ma Yin-ch'u tried his best to deny the effect of changes in production relations, to advocate the uselessness of socialist revolution and to deny the superiority of the socialist system.

Marx made a profound analysis of the capitalist system, pointing out that both poverty and unemployment under the capitalist system were created by the exploitation of capitalism and that the establishment of a socialist system would fundamentally change the poor conditions of the people and create for them a happy life.

Using the Marxist principle, the Chinese Communist Party made a profound analysis of the nature of the old Chinese society, pointing out that the poverty and backwardness of old China were created by the long period of feudal and imperialist rule in China.

Comrade Mao Tse-tung said: "Owing to the double pressure of feudalism and imperialism, the masses of the Chinese people, especially the peasants, became more and more im-

poverished and many of them were bankrupt. They were destitute and they had no political rights." ¹

He further said: "Owing to over one hundred years of oppression and exploitation by the imperialists and their agents, we have become a very poor country." ² Owing to the imperialist, feudal and bureaucratic rule in old China, the development of the social productive capacity was impeded and reduced to a very low pace."

"Recognizing the nature of the old Chinese society and the origin of poverty, the Chinese Communist Party recommended a way for the complete liberation of the Chinese people. That is to carry out, first of all, a democratic revolution, and on the basis of that revolution, to carry out a socialist revolution and socialist construction in order to build a modern, socialist, prosperous and strong China."

This is the method of combining "revolution with production," revolution being the principal and decisive factor. For it is only through a revolutionary victory that our social productive capacity can be completely liberated and a rapid transformation of our poor and backward conditions basically guaranteed.

With the victory of our revolution, a socialist system was established. This enabled our productive capacity to expand at a tremendous speed, thus rapidly changing our conditions of poverty. In the past ten years, our industry and agriculture developed rapidly and the living standard of the people was markedly improved. All this bears eloquent testimony to the correctness of the words of our great leader Mao Tse-tung: "Only socialism can save China." ¹

¹Selections of Mao Tse-tung's Works, Vol 2, Jen-min Publishers, 1954, p 625.

²Mao Tse-tung, On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People, Jen-min Publishers, p 18.

¹Ibid, p 11.

Comrade Liu Shao-ch'i has pointed out: "What Marx said was entirely correct: 'Revolution is the locomotive of history.' If imperialism and the democratic revolution of feudalism and bureaucratism in China had not been overthrown and if the socialist revolution of capitalism had not been abolished, modern industry, modern agriculture and modern science and culture would not have developed so rapidly.

Nor would the situation be like what it is today when the people are fighting for socialism and communism in such high spirit and with such morale. Revolution gave the Chinese people unlimited hope and a very bright future."²

Although we are still comparatively poor at the moment, the establishment of the socialist system, especially the establishment of the Party's general line of socialist construction, is a basic guarantee that our condition of poverty will be completely changed after a period of exertion.

Ma Yin-ch'u is not only saying that socialist revolution is useless, but also is opposed to the continuation of the socialist revolution. In his New Population Theory, he said that the principal contradiction in our present society is not the contradiction between the bourgeois class and the working class but that of production.

In his article, "My Philosophical Ideas and Economic Theory," he went a step further and said: "The remedy lies in technical revolution and cultural revolution, and definitely not in political revolution." He said that since production relations have been adjusted, whoever advocates a political revolution is advocating "an irresponsible view which endangers the affairs of the state."

In his recent article, "Renewing My Request," He went so far as to conclude that in China today, "landlords and capitalists no longer exist." In this way, he openly denied the existence of class struggle during the transitional stage, trying by this means to divert people's attention from the bourgeois attack and open up a road for the return of capitalism.

²Liu Shao-ch'i, Victory of Marxism in China.

We all know that Comrade Liu Shao-ch'i has pointed out very clearly in his work report at the Second Meeting of the Party's Eighth National Congress: "In the whole transitional period, that is to say before the establishment of a socialist society, the struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie and the struggle between the socialist road and the capitalist road will always remain the principal contradictions in our country."¹

Our Party believes that after the victory of the democratic revolution, there must be a socialist revolution before socialist construction can be carried out. After the national economic recovery was basically accomplished in 1952, the Party proposed a general line for the transitional period. It is a general line for carrying out the socialist revolution and socialist construction simultaneously.

By 1956 the socialist revolution in the economic field was basically achieved and unitary socialist production relations were established. This basic reform in production relations has contributed greatly to the successful completion of our First Five-Year Plan.

However, socialist revolution is not just a revolution on the economic front, it is also a revolution on the political and intellectual fronts. Therefore, after the basic completion of the socialist revolution on the economic front, the Party proposed further that a socialist revolution on the political and intellectual fronts must be carried and brought to a conclusion. This was the task of the anti-rightist struggle and rectification movement from 1957 to 1958.

With the victory of the anti-rightist struggle and rectification movement, the socialist awareness of the broad masses was greatly raised. The enthusiasm of the people of the whole country in building socialism thus reached an unprecedented level. It was on this basis that the general line to "build socialism by exerting our utmost efforts, and pressing ahead consistently to achieve greater, faster, better and more economical results" was proposed.

¹Liu Shao-ch'i: Work Report of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party at the Second Meeting of the Eighth National Congress, Jen-min Publishers, pp. 8 and 21.

Thus under the illumination of the Party's general line, the great leap forward on all fronts and the people's communalization movement took place. This enabled us to achieve a great victory in our socialist construction enterprise.

Nevertheless, all this does not mean that class struggle no longer exists. As Comrade Liu Shao-ch'i has pointed out: "The capitalists in our country are still getting interests. The contradiction between the proletarian and bourgeois classes in the economic field has not yet completely disappeared. Even if the bourgeoisie disappears as an economic class, the bourgeois world view, the bourgeois political influence and the bourgeois and petty bourgeois habits will remain for a long time to come and they will conflict with the socialist system." ²

For this reason, the Party has made the following provision among the basic points of the general line for socialist construction: "when the socialist revolution on the economic, political and intellectual fronts is being brought to a completion, a technical and cultural revolution must be carried out step by step." ³

It is particularly important that the socialist revolution on the political and intellectual fronts be carried out through the whole transitional period and in all fields (including the technical and cultural revolution).

During the transitional period, the bourgeois class will try every means to oppose and obstruct socialist construction. If we do not continue to carry out a socialist revolution on the political and intellectual fronts in this period, socialist construction cannot proceed smoothly. The struggle against the rightist opportunists that is being carried out over the whole country is a factual proof.

²Liu Shao-ch'i: The Victory of Marxism-Leninism in China.

³Liu Shao-ch'i: Work Report of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party at the Second Meeting of the Eighth National Congress, Jen-min Publishers, pp. 8 and 21.

The attack of the rightist opportunists on the general line, the great leap forward and the people's communes this year is a reflection of the class struggle among the rank and file of the revolution. It is a continuation of the struggle between the bourgeois road and the proletarian road for the past ten years. The Party's Eighth Plenary Session of the Eighth National Congress dealt a timely blow to the rightist opportunist offensive.

Responding to the call of the Party, the people of the whole country opposed the rightists and exerted their efforts in bringing about a new high tide in the production and economy movement and in continuing to produce a great leap forward in the national economy.

The fact of the past ten years bear eloquent testimony to the necessity of carrying out a socialist revolution in the transitional period before socialist construction can be carried out. Only when the socialist revolution is carried out continuously and intensively can there be continuous victory in socialist construction.

The socialist movement in the whole transitional period always includes revolution as well as construction. Experience tells us that the class struggle between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat is unavoidable in the transitional period.

In denying the class struggle and opposing the continuation of the socialist revolution, Ma Yin-ch'u is actually opposing the Party policy of carrying out socialist construction and socialist revolution simultaneously. He is trying to divert attention from the class struggle, disarm the working people intellectually, allow the bourgeois class to attack and open up a road for the return of capitalism.

Ma Yin-ch'u has time and again resorted to sophistry: "You people 'destroy and do not construct (or establish).'" This was one of his poisonous arrows directed at the proletarian class.

In our opinion, we cannot construe the terms "destruction" and "construction" (or "establishment") in the abstract. It all depends upon what it is that you destroy

and construct. Different classes have completely different ideas about "destruction" and "construction." Facts are very clear.

The population theory of Marxism was "constructive" long ago. Our Party and Comrade Mao Tse-tung have already discussed the population problem of our country systematically. The documents of the Party's Eighth Plenary Session of the Eighth National Congress and the writings of the responsible comrades of the Central Committee have given scientific explanations of the great leap forward.

However, holding on to his reactionary bourgeois views, Ma Yin-ch'u does not consider these as "constructive."

In the many articles that criticize Ma Yin-ch'u reactionary theory, the Marxist population theory was discussed. He chooses to regard them as so much "dogmatism." Let us see what Ma Yin-ch'u is trying to "construct" or "establish." What he "establishes" are his anti-party and anti-socialist views and what he sells is Malthusianism.

Obviously, from his point of view, only the establishing of anti-party and anti-socialist views can be considered "constructive." Since what he produces are poisonous weeds, we must destroy them as best we can until they are eradicated. To try to bind us with this sophistry is futile.

From the above, we see very clearly that Ma Yin-ch'u has, for several decades, used his reactionary population theory to oppose the revolutionary enterprise of the proletariat.

Before the liberation, he used his reactionary population theory to oppose the democratic revolution led by the Party. After the liberation, he continued to use it to oppose the socialist revolution and socialist construction. This is the basic nature of Ma Yin-ch'u's population theory. We must tear down the camouflage and expose completely the reactionary nature of the theory.